1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'Iguetyiai, naishop, naishori en-Jukuri naripukino 'aeghera 'matwan pikin. Naitaasipi eng-oriolg, nariki eng-alig o-'l-mdrua lanya, nerubare ol-mdrua, oo 'l-tolipuak aare 'l-churuata lanyuna, oo 'n-gituak are o-'ng-alig o-'Iguetyiai.

Nanumitye, erikitai ale akiti oo matalai. Ore ye ebaiki, naishori en-gwai, naiitti.

Ten eiyan ol-mdrua o-Iguetyiai, nemeipat eng-arua enye, ana tarema. Edolipiki ee-arua. Enyer naleig aipatye eng-arua o-'l-pusur lanya, anaa 'l-oo-'Ibura.

Ten eata ol-tolipuai oo-'l-Maasai 'n-giaka kumok, naidim eiyama 'Iguetyiak kumok. Ibii kulikae oeiyan 'Iguetyiak are, ana uai, ana olipwan; kake eiyan il-karaial, ten eiyio, tomon ana tigitkin.

Ten eiyan ol-Maasai kat'-ere arabi kat'-uai, naisho en-gitok enye eng-alai ol-naho, naa ainye aimaiye eng-alai aje Pusaho.

Naidim il-Maasai eiyama 'Iguetyiak o-'ng-aji enye ten alami to-'l-naho tho, kake naidim eiyama 'Iguetyiak o-'n-giahtai enye, naidim eiyama 'Iguetyiak o-'ng-oo-kiahtai.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home. 585

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the fierce age. 551 593 777 [561]

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty. 595

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Pusaho, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf. 595 431

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan. 582

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ɛ̈ar il-Maasae 'ɛ̈gurɔ̈yɔk enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naaligiri, nemapwo.

Ten ɛ̈ar ol-mɔ́runo e-ɛ̈gurɔ̈yɔ̈ni, neipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-tɔ́ki eitaruaiye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-mɔ́runo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lidio idya-ɛ̈gurɔ̈yɔ̈ni naabɔ̈no kitala, nemeitɔki ol-epeny aar, amu [626] ɛ̈are lidio-tuɛ̈gani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ɛ̈gurɔ̈yɔ̈ni en-dɔ́ki kitok, p' eiyɔ́lɔ́u ajo ɛ̈ari, nelo eng-aɛ̈g e-menye, neiaheri en-gitaɛ̈g naiɔ́tu [631] e-ɛ̈gurɔ̈yɔ̈ni aaniye ol-mɔ́runo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given as ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gïa.

964 55 Ten ɛ̈i ol-tuɛ̈gani loo-'l-Maasae, neiturasi ten a en-gurai, araki ol-murani, araki e-ɛ̈gurɔ̈yɔ̈ni; nenaki eng-arua too-'l-tuɛ̈gunak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dɔ́ki naipɛ̈yaki inne-arua, neiaheri ee-arua nemenyikita en-e-'lio ɛ̈tua.

Ore ten ɛ̈i ol-tuɛ̈gani eti ɛ̈ji Ol-tuana, nemeipot te-'ng-aɛ̈g e-menye en-nanai amu [582]

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-tuana (he who *is* soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die,

[1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast. [623]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

English as 'generation' and 'age', respectively. Such a terminology is too vague and of little assistance in shedding light on the matter. 561

Sometimes the Masai apply those terms alternatively to the class or to the units,[26] but usually *ol aje* stands for the broader and final association i. e., the age-class, and *ol poror* for the temporary association i. e., the age-unit.

Age-class membership is obtained through initiation, and is held for life. The initiation course is opened by some preliminary ceremonies. These must be performed before any individual member may be initiated singly or in a group. Analysis shows that the importance of these ceremonies in connection with the institution of an age class varies greatly. There are four such ceremonies: 1) *Epoloe e-sita*; 2) *Embolosata*; 3) *Endungore*; 4) *Engibata*.[27] 561 881

Epoloe E - Sita, " The passing of the fence ".[28] " A Masai child ", states HOLLIS, " cannot be circumcised until the father has observed a custom called " The passing of the fence ". The ceremony consists in a period of four days segregation. The candidate's father lives in a special hut set apart from the village, where he also takes his food. During this time he wears the clothes, decorations and weapons of a warrior. On the last day he is taken back to the village by some elders. Before he enters the house where the ceremonial wine is kept, he is addressed five times by one of the elders thus: " Go, become an old man ". He refuses saying: " Ho, I shall not ". At the fifth time, he replies – " Ho, I have gone then ". He then, enters the hut and puts aside the warrior's paraphernalia; the honey wine is drunk; and he is called by his son's name, thus: The father 881 593

[26] WHITEHOUSE, *Masai Social Customs*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 2, 1913, p. 146; FOX, *l. c.*, p. 449.

[27] It is a widely held opinion that the institution of the Masai age-class is based entirely on the circumcision ceremony. Actually it is not uncommon to find the term " circumcision " used as an alternative to age-system and its groups. This opinion is partly justified by the expressions " right-hand circumcision ", *emurata tatene*, and " left-hand circumcision ", *emurata kedyanye*, applied by the Masai to the first and second age-units, *il poror*, that forms a single agegroup, *ol aje*.

It is a fact that circumcision is one of the outstanding ceremonies of the initiation course. However, it should be realised that circumcision is not identical with initiation, and above all that the institution of the age-unit as well as the age-class does not arise immediately out of circumcision. Therefore the tendency to make everything connected with Masai age-system gravitate towards circumcision is misleading.

[28] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, pp. 294 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers: "Herds and flocks". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over".

The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he "wishes to have his eldest child circumcised". This particular circumstance shows that by "the passing of the fence" a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the "passing of the fence" is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. "The passing of the fence" gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [1]

"*The tearing of the ox*" (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [2] Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[1] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[2] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leakey, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 1; 1927, p. 14 n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 701 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[621] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country. [146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are [262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least. [147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until [721] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid. [148] Since cattle are the primary source [593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders. [149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He [361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin- [554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

601 431 Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-sidan* or *yriyo*, as the case may be, are *pa-kitekŋ*, *pa-ashe*, or *pa-supen*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-ashe*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kine*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with [595] a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *na-aini* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-ashe*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-sighirio*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kitekŋ*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-oiŋgoni* instead of *papa* and *li-ayoni*; a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an older brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-oro* or *pa-merrygak* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kitekŋ*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-mokŋi*, the bullock; *pa-kishe*, the cows; *pa-oiŋgoni*, the bull; *pa-'n-dauwo*, the heifer; *pa-buŋgoi*, the bull calf; *pa-ashe*, the calf; *pa-kwo*, *pa-oro*, or *pa-sitima*, the he-goat; *pa-kine*, the she-goat; *pa-lolelo*, the kid; *pa-kerr*, the ewe; *pa-merrygak*, the ram; *pa-sighirio*, the donkey; *pa-supen*, the ewe lamb; *pa-mase*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa-'n-dauwo*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a maternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-oiŋgoni*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-oro*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kitekŋ* and *pa-kerr*. These presents have nothing [583] to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

604 578 754 A maternal uncle (*ol-apu*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to [593] disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do 593 so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling 626 the combatants to desist, but they are not necessarily listened to. A mother has 754 more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to sicken, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Besides the power of a maternal uncle to stop a fight, he has also the right to take anything which belongs to his nephew. If the uncle desires anything that is the property of his nephew's father, the nephew must buy it from his father, who will at once give it up when he knows for whom it is required. This power of taking property is reciprocal, and in fact applies to all persons who address one another as *el-apu, el-le-'ng-apu*, etc. A nephew, for instance, can go to his maternal uncle's kraal, and if his uncle is absent, he can slaughter a goat or drink his uncle's milk, and nothing would be said. He cannot, however, drive off a cow without his uncle's sanction, but permission would not be refused. Other relatives have likewise some power of taking property. A boy or man can go to his father's or paternal uncle's kraal and take or demand a goat or milk, and in all probability nothing would be said, but if it were done repeatedly the father or uncle would express dissatisfaction or refuse altogether. A man may also go to his sister's husband or wife's brother (*el-oputani*) and take anything, but an account is kept and the debt has to be returned. If a man is poor it is customary for him to live with one of his brothers-in-law (*el-oputani*) and help to look after the stock. He is fed for his trouble, and as payment receives one out of every pair of twin goats born.

First cousins and second cousins may not marry, but there is no objection to third cousins marrying if the relationship is no nearer than *el-le-'ittera* (or *re-e-'ittera*). Thus, a man's son's son's son may not marry the man's brother's son's son's daughter, nor may a man's son's son's son marry the sister's son's son's daughter, but there would be no objection to a man's son's son's son marrying the brother's daughter's daughter's daughter or the sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter. Likewise though a man's son's son may not marry the man's maternal uncle's son's son's daughter, he may marry the maternal uncle's son's daughter's daughter. These unions are always contingent on the two parties not belonging to the same sub-clan.[1] The rules of consanguinity and affinity which regulate marriage also apply to the sexual intercourse of warriors with immature girls before marriage and to the rights of hospitality after marriage. No warrior may select as his

[1] The Masai are divided into five clans: *Il-Aiser, Il-Matapusi, Il-Matame, Il-Wuldapus*, and *Il-Purkeni*. Each clan is again divided into sub-clans, *e.g.*, the *Il-Aiser* contain amongst others the following: *Iz-gidakpi* and *Il-Purkeni*. No man belonging to the *Iz-gidakpi* sub-clan may take as wife the daughter of a man of the same sub-clan, but he may marry the daughter of the *Il-Purkeni* or he may marry a daughter of the *Il-Matapusi, Il-Matame, Il-Wuldapus*, or *Il-Torrobo* clans. Members of the various sub-clans are usually to be found in all the districts and sub-districts. Marriages are not affected by geographical considerations, and a man has the same lawful marital relations in all the sub-districts as he has in his own home sub-district.

In his recent book, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East African Tribes* (Cambridge, 1910), Hobley states (p. 181) that the restrictions governing marriage amongst the Masai are far from simple, and he gives a number of complicated instances. As a matter of fact the rules are quite simple if one remembers (i) that though the clans are not exogamous, the sub-clans into which the clans are divided are exogamous; and (ii) that no man may marry a nearer relation than a third cousin, and then only if the terms of address used are *el-le-'ittera* and *re-e-'ittera*.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal. 431

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. His demeanour was serious, and his expression ferocious, though he acquired an aristocratic *hauteur* truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish. 157

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his father was found to be on the point of death, and he was sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed. 764 885

[301 304 513]

BAD ORNAMENTS, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognise this common-place occurrence in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyænas slinking away, in company with marabout storks, while vultures flapped greedily overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was 428 815 885

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process. 597

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully. [192]

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own, and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *otaborno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai. 597 727 597

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol owita*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family. 597 184

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured. 144

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts. 422 593 [183]

The cattle which have been allotted to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock, but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to hamstring and maim all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 3 as far as the woman is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is hamstrung and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :—

3 Heifers.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

PART VI.—FAMILY LIFE.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ndowo* by the young man.

593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *lenaki*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *lolúu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram, or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy hencefo[illegible] the man: *Ithubín* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingíni* if [illegible] was a young she-goat, *ndawa* if the gift was a heifer, *ithíthume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own [835] brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [951] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

761 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Marriage.—The warriors may not marry till after the *E-Unoto*, and do not usually do so till after their first *Ol-Ng'eiker*. The case stated by Mr. Leakey,[1] in which a warrior cannot have sexual intercourse with his initiated wife, is therefore hypothetical, and does not occur in practice.

The cattle required for the bride-price are payable on the birth of the first child, and cannot be reclaimed if the wife dies or runs away, because the husband has got the child. Wives live with their husbands, but they are common to their husband's generation, not his own exclusively. Thus if a stranger comes to a village where lives a man of his generation he may choose in which hut belonging to his generation he will sleep. When it is time to sleep it is the custom for the owner of the hut to vacate it and leave the stranger with his wife. It is quite lawful and proper for the stranger to have sexual intercourse with the woman provided that she consents and that the restrictions (*see* p. 203) are observed. It is said that if a woman is persistently unwilling to allow the members of her husband's generation to have intercourse with her she may be severely admonished, and her husband may be fined a number of cattle.

On the other hand, the members of one generation are extremely jealous of generations older or younger than themselves. A fight between generations is very likely to occur if the men of one generation find that a man of another has had intercourse with one of their women.

If a woman who has borne children leaves her husband and lives apart from him, he waits till his eldest son is old enough, and then sends him to fetch her back.

A man may not have sexual intercourse with the wife of his full brother (mother's son), but may have it with the wife of a half-brother (same father, different mother) who is of his generation. He may not have intercourse with his wife's sister or half-sister.

A husband and wife may not call each other by their names.

Father-in-law
Mother-in-law
Son-in-law
Daughter-in-law
} Must not be addressed by name.

Family.—The name for a family is *Ol Mawi*. Relationship is not recognized beyond first cousin. The Masai take little interest in their genealogies and can seldom trace their ancestry beyond the fourth generation. Nevertheless, if a man is of pure Masai descent, *Ol Masainé ainoti*, he is proud of the fact.

Death and Burial.—Dead bodies are disposed of by the kyraman, except for those of *Laibons* or very influential old men. These are buried under cairns of stones.

[1] *See* p. 208 of this volume.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

are taken in another direction, which means that they drink only on alternate days, but at the same time graze over a larger area than if they went to water every day, thus helping to conserve the grazing. There are two types of kraal. The married men with their wives and children live in one type, and the warriors with their mothers, sisters, and girl lovers in another type. The main structural difference between the two types seems to be that the warriors' kraal has no fence, while the elders' kraal is surrounded by a thorn fence. The elders' kraal varies in size: it may contain from seven to several hundred huts, though very large examples (such as were seen by Teleki and von Höhnel) are probably uncommon; the average is probably about 20 to 50. The warriors' kraal may contain between 50 and 100. In the elders' kraal the huts are built round the inside of the fence, which is also the enclosure in which the livestock are housed at night. The number of gates in the fence depends upon the number and size of the families which live in it. Each family has exclusive rights over at least one gate, and a large family with many cattle has more than one. The kraal, *enk-ang*, thus approximates to a village, for several families live in it, and the gate, *kishomi*, has come to typify the family, the word being used with the article (*en-kishomi*) as a synonym for *el-moruo*, "the family." When a man sets up his home in a kraal, he puts his first wife in a hut on the right of his gate as one goes in, and the second wife on the left; the third, if he has one, goes on the right, and the fourth on the left, and so on, the huts being so arranged that each succeeding wife lives immediately to the right or left of her gate. The people on each side of the gate form two distinct groups, *in-tainkisho*, the effect of which is felt most in matters of inheritance. (See below, p. 108.) The warriors' kraal or *e-manyata* is inhabited by all the members of one age-set in one district, who constitute a company, *ainl*, and the kraals are built in strategic positions. With the men live their mothers, and some young sisters who help their mothers, and if old enough become lovers of warriors. The mother, her warrior son, and younger children share a hut, all sleeping on separate beds; when the warrior wants to sleep with his lover he goes to another hut. The mother's husband may visit her at any time, and when he comes her hut must be given up to the pair. The inhabitants of a *manyata* vary considerably in number, ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Livestock

Cattle

Cattle, *in-kishu*, are the object on which the lives of the Masai are centred, and on which their whole existence depends. Their importance is both material and spiritual, and people who perform any kind of work other than tending cattle are despised by the Masai, whose attitude towards cattle is similar to that of the Nandi. The Masai believe that in the beginning God gave them all the cattle in the world, and therefore nobody else has a right to possess any. Cattle provide the Masai warrior with his food in the form of milk, blood, and meat, and they give him spiritual and mental satisfaction through their existence, though it would seem that there is less outward and ritual expression of the love of cattle than among some other East African tribes who combine pastoralism with agriculture. This, however, does not by any means indicate that the Masai are an agricultural people who have wholly given up agriculture and taken to pastoralism. Since the Masai, unlike the Nandi, kill large numbers of their cattle for eating, it was essential in the past for them to maintain the size of their herds by continual raiding, for the natural reproduction rate would not have been enough. On account of its high ritual value, milk may not be drunk on the same day that meat is eaten, nor may it be boiled; but it may be drunk mixed with blood. Cream also has a high ritual value, being the food of cattle, and is used as a sign of peace. In 1930 the average size of an elder's herd was officially estimated at about 70 head of cattle, 80 sheep and goats, and 10 donkeys; this was based on the estimate of 720,000 as the total number of cattle belonging to the Kenya Masai. In Tanganyika, it was found that the average number

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

233 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There
[171] appears to be no such system as the Nandi *koptic* or Kipsikis *kimaruken*. (See
above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed
[237] to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *ol-kuta*, is
presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day.
Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blunted arrow, *ol-gwet*,
shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled.
Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's
clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped
for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick,
232 *en-balai*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but
their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of
rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

492 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkeli*; sing. *e-sirkiti*) which are
used for carrying their goods when they move home (*idoe*). Donkeys are marked by
slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors
may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements
of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.* But further
investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is
required.

Inheritance of Cattle

428 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the
division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest
son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given
in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use.
Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal: for
cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies with-
out sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are
any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

Grazing and Water Rights

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*ol-oshe*), and grazing
rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the
old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition,
claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over
water are thus ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at
the water decides, after consultation with other clansmen, the order in which people
take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may
claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where
water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

Division of Labour

512 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
913 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It
must be remembered, however, that the normal practice is for families to be divided
between the father's kraal, *enk-aji*, and the warriors' kraal, *e-manyata*, and that the

* Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[See details of the (kishomi) arrangement in Huntingford, G.W.B., p. 109. — Ed.]

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors need to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *el-kunono*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among their own selves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mutsapnia river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Swahili.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included those that were cattle, buffalo, *el-cuneonen*, and eland, *e-ntoai*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *el-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Dorobo agriculturists, *il-murle*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), shoats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (maize, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Dorobo; the chief suppliers of metal are Indian traders, often Sikhs.

[1] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LII, p. 308); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[2] The Gallas also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Mohnig, *Wesens Gesetz Galla*, chap. XX, Gesch.

/50 cont./

592
922
(434) The earnings of the men who are growing up to become warriors consist of captured livestock and in the main passes into the father's herd. Actual separate goods for the individual members of the family are only clothing and ornaments, for the men also their weapons, and further for boys the livestock given to them by the father, for youths and warriors the shave of the captured cattle which they keep for themselves.

592
• 593 The family head is the father of the family. If an older man of his family also lives with him or in the same or a closely neighboring kraal, the two share in the office of the head in such a manner that in all decisions people listen to and heed the counsel of the older one. Legally the head can be deposed by his brethren for mismanagement and incompetence, but this seems to take place only very exceptionally. The head makes the decisions in all family matters. A right to kill and penalize the members does not belong to the father of the family: just as he is not responsible for their debts and misdeeds, neither may he sell or pledge them. The
(131) fact that during the famine caused by two cattle epidemics that
(347) followed each other in a short time around the year 1899 children and women were given into slavery by their relatives does not prove anything to the contrary. When the corpses of many thousands of the starved lay in the steppes and there was no food of any kind for the survivors, no escape remained for them other than to give themselves or their relatives as serfs to such people as could feed them.

593 Individual members may detach themselves on account of bad
591 treatment. One who detaches himself from to another of his
613 lineage or to the one from which his mother stems and purchases his admission with a few cattle that he has stolen from his father's herd and taken along. If he found acceptance in the latter, he must return to his own as soon as he becomes a father.

If a girl is expelled, she may freely choose her future abode, irrespective of tribe or lineage. Wherever she finds admittance /51/ she usually remains permanently, in that she marries a member of this lineage. That is, the men and girls taken in remain nonmembers of the lineage, despite their admission, so that they can enter into a legal marriage with members of the lineage concerned.

[illegible]

• 593 [illegible] covenant. One who is expelled from the family because of bad behavior is, as a rule, taken in again upon payment of a head of cattle or a goat. Moreover he hands over the animal to a man friendly to his lineage. The latter takes it to the father of the one expelled and requests reacceptance for him. If it is refused, the one expelled waits and finds acceptance in the same manner as the detached one. Detachment and expulsion occur only in very

[illegible]

[illegible] plate.

Pl. II. Kraal of the married.

[illegible] rare cases and have no influence on the right of succession. The rights of the head over the individual members of the family lapse legally upon their marriage, but are yet practically, there, conditioned by attachment and respect for the elder, having consensus are made to him in questionable context.

/90 cont./

while he was imploring Ng ai that he might join together as securely as this bond their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time after him some milk, which she spills on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with libation for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the warriors thoughts are again particularly intense: the warriors scout soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

Puns also are already seen imitated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the ill adhes and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks: now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol moran, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other. Indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he exited his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely and is bringing along rich booty. But the Maasai too /100/ have their "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut such other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Maasai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Maasai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/109 cont./

861 A father reprimands his disobedient child with the words ol gulugoni eí gob, that is, you are like a piece of earth or dirt, or ol dian eí gob, dirty fellow, or ge mid eí gob, dirty mama.

578 Invectives and curses are:

192 ol menéiani (or eí menéiani) = skeleton, as remains of a decayed corpse:

ol ag' ichobo (Eig ai eí shiak, which means may God give you the serious sickness "shiak"):

es síri = dirt, dust, that is, if only one could sweep you out of the hut like the dirt:

ol agaechertata = fall down:

ol agana 'Eig ai, that is, may 'Eig ai take you away:

ol agatobero ol amuri = may the snake bite you:

ol aginana ol ugaru = may the lion devour you:

ol agatadotjirá eág oine = go away along with the rest:

ol agotenino or redjí = may your footprints be lost, that is, may you disappear entirely.

Bantering expressions that may sometimes be meant rudely are used by boys and youths to one another:

/110/

ol orobó á onoji = accumbens matri /one who lies with his mother/:

ol orobó eág arnaache = accumbens sorori /one who lies with his sister/:

hai, eág inobi = hi, anus (neutrius generis) /these old fogies (neutral in gender)/:

hai, ol gorom = nates /buttocks/.

The last two are used teasingly both by young girls to the warriors and the latter among themselves. Furthermore warriors insult one another with ol kiragus = accumbens uxori alienae /one who lies with another's wife/: and os sinoni = scorned by the girls. ol orobó eág ikau éaje = accumbens filiae maximo nata /one who lies with his oldest daughter/, ol orobó 'ig abudani = accumbens matri uxoris /one who lies with his wife's mother/. If a married man were to use toward his wife such vulgar invectives that had reference to her parents, the latter -- according to the assurances of the people -- would immediately take their daughter back and return the bride price to the man.

[593] [586]

/113 cont./

578 192 man. From young girls among themselves one hears ol ondol nanja • ayoombwe yeiti /one who lies with her father/, ol ondol 3 sister • ayoombwe inoti /one who lies with her brother/.

Used by warriors toward young girls: Iai aa ballach • you, voice: Iai 3 ninkey • you, clitoris.

Younger children insult one another:

Amonji ol gumus • vagina nanja:

ol ngarnkai Nkg ai • hated by 'Ng ai:

tolelaki • mankin:

ol ngarnkai Nkg ai • cry to God (when you get a beating):

a mai • stupid fellow:

Iai ol ondol (or a ondol) • you stupid fellow (stupid girl):

Ai' ol sirinya, you are a blockhead:

Ai ol lua, you are a rowdy:

Ai' ol dilis ondol, that is, you are indeed mad. The term ol dilis, which here means madman, is formed from the like-named bird, the red-headed Anaplectes melanotis, one of the many species of the weaver birds native to East Africa. If one so soon hears it calling on the enyye from the left side, it means good luck, but if it calls to the right of the traveler the latter will soon encounter a misfortune.

Ol ngarai' aa kaia, that is, die by an arrow. ol ngarai ol galing • die of fever: ol kebeda • of the spots sickness: ol ninjolai • of smallpox: ol gabanga • of stomach or intestinal sickness: ol ngarooroo ol gigarai • may the thorns prick you: ol ngarnigi ol naiyua • may your belly burn from eating: ol ngarnkiteria • become black: ol ngolkera • rogue, brawler: a ai' ol mamaga • slanderer, gossiper: ol dalgarai nanai • bad fellow: ol dalgarai garai • coward.

201 To express contempt one spits before the person concerned or at him.

192 The large number of invectives stands in contrast to a striking poverty in terms of endearment.

• 943 /111/ The mother designates her child as 3 ajaka 'Ng ai • child given me by God, as ol gisak o Nja • mouth of the mother, or as ol olb o Nja • resting place of the mother. The father calls it aa Ngarnngi • child of the wife. Older brothers and sisters call kindly to younger ones with the term aa o Nja • child of mother.

[136] [Fffff] [325]

Lib Harker--158 G-5 (1880-ca.1900) 1910 PL12 Masai PL12

The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity: they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family: they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tightest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters. Lesser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have cattle quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration: the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured: the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor wherever he happens to have to food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it: the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of blood exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

/120 cont./ If they spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really are. Their sexuality equals that of most East African tribes. The wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class (both ol bonor and ol adji) of her husband and desires her. It is obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willingness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised ol ngŋ as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/144 cont./

301 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus cynocephalus, ol ŋ́dʒ́ɛ́ɛ́k), the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gómo), the honey badger (Mellivora capel, ol bélé), and a few other smaller animals.

301 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the á gamaini, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (ol dʒ́ɛ́ɛ́ŋ́ɛ́ɛ́ or ol gabatoo) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower [143] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the á gamaini express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or [131] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has [193] no leather belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

301 251

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the ornam.

30 /145 cont./
piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segenígel = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segenígel ol berañgasch for the upper arm, es segenígel en dagíle for the lower arm, es segenígel ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segenígel e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eág ene em bolók; eág ene is any strap, em bolé = the hip). Little girls also wear a like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en dereé (pl. en dereén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white goat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duíi, eh /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duíiín [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mánge, e mángen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

/174 cont./

out, since special food laws determine to which class of people this or that piece will fall. From a head of cattle slaughtered during the meateating in the bush the warrior will send his father a shoulder-blade (ol kirebuscha) and for the wives of his father the head (ol ogunja), paunch (eh goojori), the entrails (memer), feet (ol oilelek), as well as the hind leg without the rear ha lf (eh gubet), and to the girls, the lateral belly-piece (e murit). The warriors eat all the rest of the meat. If they have visits from other warriors, the latter are entitled to the long, straight belly muscle (eh galemisa) and rear hocks (ol orenchita). On the other hand, if a head of cattle of a married man is slaughtered at the kraal, the warriors get nothing. From the cut-up animal there is put aside first for the other married men: the tongue (ol ngaji), a shoulderblade (ol kirebuscha), a rear hock, the rear part of the hind leg (ol mono), the long belly-muscle: for the uncircumcised boys, the ribs (ol orik), a rear hock, the filet (os sonit), the "flache /flat/ Roastbeef" -- as my cookbook calls it -- (ol on), the heart (ol dil). The rest of the meat is given to the women, who give the girls the lateral belly-piece and the neck (e murt) from it. The principal wife of the one to whom the slaughtered animal belongs is given the tail piece.

/175/ If the warrior slaughters a goat, the married men are given half the liver (e mojua), the wives the paunch and head, the girls the back (en gorisi) and the feet. If a married man slaughters a goat, he gives the wives the paunch, the rennet bag, spleen, entrails, and head, the girls back and feet, the boys a side of ribs, breast (ol ogesi), lungs (ol kibisik), heart, and a hind leg (eh gojio muni), while he himself keeps the rest.

From a warrior's sheep, the father gets the neck; the wives of the father, paunch, rennet bag, entrails, and liver; the sisters, feet and back. If a married man slaughters a sheep, the distribution to the women and girls is the same, and the boys receive the same pieces as from the father's goat. Of the individual pieces of meat, one boils the bones for soup, furthermore the filets, the carved-out cutlets, the dark meat on the hind leg, and the heart. Everything else is roasted at the open fire. Brains and spinal marrow are not eaten, but thrown away. Bone marrow is sucked raw out of the smashed bones.

/184 cont./

757 [164] [819] With toothache (eig ga ol alal) one bites on a very hot residuum of fat with the aching tooth. Pieces of twigs of o'remit (Salvadora persica L.) and ol abalasa (Dodonaea viscosa L.) chewed to resemble a brush at one end serve as toothbrushes.

[868] For rheumatic pains in the muscles one makes use of massage, which is practiced by the women, or one makes poultices with the pulp of the pulverized root of o'remit (Salvadora persica), which also finds use otherwise as a "mustard plaster." Married men have themselves massaged by their wives to get rid of pains in the leg muscles after long marches, whereas the warriors scorn this help as unmanly. Furthermore one administers a root decoction, preferably mixed with a broth from steer meat, of o'ravak (Clausa rotundifolia [Forsk.] Vahl.) or of ol ingilibo (Pentas zanzibarica [Kl.] Vike.), or also a decoction of the wood of ol gonjo (Rhamnus prinoides l'Herit.). For rheumatic pains in the back one drinks a root decoction, sweetened with honey, of ol osasia [or nibentai (Cayria rosulbiis Engl.). To cure articular rheumatism a root decoction of ol oglon (Boerhavia diffusa L.) is administered. Besides these remedies, those that are regarded as diaphoretic, especially the above-mentioned ol ambochi (Monsonia cardiospermoides Kl.) and eig alerotijai kere (Asclepias johnstonii K. Sch.), are also given.

296 [782] Other than for curative purposes the warriors regularly, and, to be sure, for the entire duration of their membership in the warrior standing, take various nerve /185/ stimulants. These are taken especially on war expeditions and, even more, during the meat feasts forming the preparation for these. One of the most popular stimulants is the bark of the frequently mentioned ol mokotas (Albizzia anthelmintica). One pounds a piece of bark but the size of two hand-palms with a club and then lets it steep for a few minutes in still hot meat broth. The other stimulants are ol dirijai or os ogurtai (Cissus quadrangularis): an arm-long piece is cut up and boiled in water. The extract is taken mixed with goat-meat broth. Equally strong in effect is the root of ol ongoa (?). One takes a piece of root three centimeters thick and approximately ten centimeters long, chops it twice, and cooks it with beef broth. The decoction smells disgusting.

/311 cont./

XXII.

000 Law. -- Concerning family and personal rights. cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, and XX. -- Property rights. -- Things found. -- Barter or purchase. -- Liability of the relatives for debts, gift. -- Penal law. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Revenge. -- Composition. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury of various degrees. -- Accomplices. -- Immoral offenses. -- Suicide. -- Kidnapping. -- Theft. -- Treason. -- Arson. -- Cowardice in war. -- Death penalty. -- Fines. -- Degrading punishment of warriors. -- Compensation for innocent accused persons. -- The mentally ill. -- Warning. -- Legal proceedings. -- Courts. -- Example of a /311/ criminal case. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit -- Pleading. -- Swearing to the truth. -- Torture for exerting the truth. -- Ordeals in the search for truth. -- Sorcery procedures. -- No international prosecution of criminal deeds.

691 An awareness and understanding of justice are very little developed among the Masai. Therefore only a small number of customary
[184] legal provisions exist, which are by no means uniform for all Masai,
[541] but rather often enough vary in the different districts. As nomads, among whom individual families frequently live alone or with their closest relatives in a kraal, by themselves, without having neighbors in the larger vicinity, they make do with fewer laws than another tribe whose numerous members are supposed to live within definite fixed limits in permanent order and peace. Furthermore, the nomadic life in and of itself leads to a freer conception of life, which opposes restraint through laws and often prefers to let might come before right. But in order to understand the great inconsistency in individual legal decisions, one must above all take into
[513] consideration the feeling of solidarity, which is strongest in the
[649] family and always still strong enough in the tribe to arouse from
[64] the first great prejudice against anyone who does not belong to the
593 tribe. The questions concerning family and personal rights have

/PLIS cont./

• 593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. Bad Part. II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /PLIS/ Masai barter only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Swahili /Swahili/ names *nikki*, *kanguru*, and *gunti*. The Masai

/314 cont./

the full debt, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but pass on to his heir.

The misappropriation of a gift is a rude insult to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol mormal a divine judgment. The blamed is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the land to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a tool with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the stool or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. The ol mormal is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol mormal sign will soon be punished by dying through death or illness. A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and honey beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, is forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always sits on it.

Losses or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of his debtor; neither debts nor misdeeds or crimes committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between this and negligent homicide. If murder was committed on a boy or woman, it is explained by blood revenge carried out by boys and women or only by warriors. Any brother of the one murdered is/is of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood

/214 cont./

623 682 672 693 revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

613 614 The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never explated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called 618 ol oiboni (pl. ol oibok). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. 626 627 On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

627 613 692 Negligent homicide is explated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half 614 is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Laiko, where blood revenge is also 672 624 only very rarely used.

177 178 229 561 704 721 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated several minor wars when we were there, and administrative action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants. Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been blooding their spears on a variety of other animals, most notably rhinos.

561 Following the period of service as warriors, each age class goes through another ceremony. Two age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take the ceremony and they then receive another age grade name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus these older age grades each span a period of about 15 years (Grant, 1957).

177 178 561 Periodically the administration has tried to discourage the moran system. In late years some of the elders have also tried to change the system in order to maintain better control over the young men. The system still continues in Western Masailand but it is much less regular than previously.

54 543 597 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may take his mother with him to the warriors' manyatta, or he may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

561 593 591 [584] [592] [562] He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 836 [583] The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 <u>(c) Villages</u>: Villages consist of a group of families, often about five but sometimes more or less. The villages are commonly called <u>bomas</u> or

361 233 (617) (improperly) <u>manyattas</u>. Each boma consists of an outer circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the village are normally herded into the space in the center of the boma each night for protection from two and four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken back out to graze.

593 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds on the right of his gate, his second on the left.